[37 cont.] On the threshing
792 floor the women and children tirelessly perform their round
796 dances with song, so that one can hear them from afar; the
574 lama is supposed to see how joyfully they welcome him. Out-
[535] side the village all get off their horses; only the lama rides on alone. A man leads his horse by the reins.

As soon as he comes to the gate of the yard, a kang table is placed on the left side of the horse, and a white mat is put over it. The men help the lama out of the saddle, and all kowtow; only the women go on dancing without interruption. The lama steps out of the stirrups onto the table that has been set there and then strides toward the gate, where the master of the household is kneeling. He has placed a hada over his raised hands, and with it he extends to the lama a white bowl of milk with a cypress twig. The lama dips the twig into the milk, sprinkles the gate posts with it, and enters. The incense offering rises in the yard; people blow on all the conches they have. The men draw the lama forward with burning [38] sticks of incense and escort him to his room. There he sits down on the place indicated by the hada. The hada, however, is taken away.

792 The blessing: First of all, the lama rests with his com-
796 panions. The master of ceremonies pours him some tea and
574 invites him to fortify himself. Then the lama recites certain prayers. Meanwhile the yard fills with guests.
788 At this point the master of the household enters the guest room, hands the lama a hada, kowtows, and requests him to come out in order to bless the people. The lama gives him a few small gifts, which he has brought with him, with a hada. Then he rises and goes out. Outside there is an armchair with a cushion; the lama sits down on it, his back turned toward the main house; a white felt mat is spread in front of him.
[554] Now the people move past him according to rank, first the men, then the women. Each person bows low before him while he touches the forehead or the crown of the head of everyone with his prayer book. His assistant stands at his side. After this ceremony he again withdraws into the house. [Figs. 4 and 5 appear here.]

[39 cont.]

792 796 465 [574] [535] lama, however, does not have his principal meal at noon, like the other guests, but only in the late afternoon. In order to entertain him men and women dance and sing in the yard. Only in the case of very high hutukhtus is there no dancing.

On the last day, after the lama's morning meal, but while he is still drinking tea on the kang, the master of gifts appears with the ceremonial helpers and with many words expresses his gratitude for the visit and the prayer. Then he hands him a tray with the gifts, over which a hada is spread, and the master of gifts announces what the lama is receiving for his services. This hada over the tray is called "speech hada." The things are put in front of the lama on the table and kowtows are made three times. The assistants, too, receive appropriate gifts.

The fee varies according to the wealth of the master of gifts, the position of the lama, and the ceremonies performed. Usually it consists of several back-baskets of bread (5), some

5. [Foreign text p. 42.] A back-basket holds 24 loaves. The red cloth is for the lama's clothing. Why only grain and money are thought of as a unity and designated by the same name, mbō, is unclear to me. According to the DMF, it comes from the Tibetan p'ogs, "fee."

pieces of mutton (4), silver money, and red cloth. Wealthy

[262] [782] 4. [Foreign text p. 42.] Although Buddhism prohibits killing, the lamas, as well as the hutukhtus, eat flesh in all forms, as I repeatedly was able to observe. In the monastery Kuo-mang-szu I once noted that a sacrificial sheep, skinned and eviscerated, was set on a sacrificial table in front of the temple door. During

[627 cont.]
527 cannot sing or sings incorrectly, his opponent cuts a piece from
533 the lappet. Thus one can sing away his whole garment in an evening.

Above all, the young people meet on the threshing floor and in a circle sing all kinds of songs. This lasts the entire
[883] night, especially at the first [628] full moon. Only towards morning do they stop. Boys and girls mingle freely in the circle. Small boys dressed in reversed hides represent demons and beat on pieces of wood; others imitate Chinese traders, play all kinds of tricks, etc. (5).

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[171]

5. [Foreign text pp. 628-629.] These round dances are exactly like those among the neighboring agricultural Fandse and Chiafandse. Men and women and boys and girls form [629] a circle. One person leads the song and also indicates the dance movement. The others sing the refrain and repeat the movement together. They also dance in twos to the rhythm of the song. These dances are also performed generally at entertainments, for example, at a wedding, upon the arrival of the lama, etc. There are many kinds of the songs. They are divided into two groups: family songs, which are decent and are sung in the house; wild songs, whose content, taken from love-life, is usually quite crude. The melodies to a great extent are the same as among the Fandse. Besides Tujen songs Chinese and Tibetan songs are also sung. The song given here is Tibetan in its original text. -- At these moonlight dances the young people spend the entire night out in the open, and more than

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[883]

782 [822 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 823 cont.]
detail, he gave the answer: "That was too much for one afternoon." Moreover, he had described the festival as it had taken place in his little village. It had always been celebrated very simply there; now he had let the festival die out completely for his village, and they would go to the neighboring village of Chichialing, where it is much longer and larger.

[178]

Here, too, nothing is presented in detail about the individual parts, as in the other chapters, because the material is too extensive and forms a subject in itself, which is to be dealt with in connection with shamanism. It should be stated in advance here, however, that they are probably not Tujen shamans, but Chinese shamans, who are found scattered over wide areas of western China.

[756]

Report

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The sowing festival and the festival of the harvest thanksgiving are completely identical. Only in the autumn people have more flour and meat to celebrate the festival. Both festivals last several days. A definite number of days is not prescribed. At the festival one differentiates between the offering and the dances of the shamans. The offering is undertaken by the seed-master or the village elder. The dances last for an entire day; usually a market is also connected with them.

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The shamans erect a pole in the temple yard, pray several days, send out sicknesses on the first evening, and from a distance kill children or cause them to become unconscious. In the evening of the final day, before they take down the pole, they take the sicknesses back; then the people struck by them become healthy again.

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great trance and wounds himself.

2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bö, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

[776] [534] [535] [787]

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600 2. The Pole-goat *

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[828 cont.]

241 789 821

[Note on foreign text p. 830 cont.] weather conjuration of this region still seems to be an inheritance from the Bon. The conditions and customs connected with it are strongly reminiscent of the description given by A. Tafel for the Bon in eastern Tibet, Tibetreise, II, pp. 198 ff.

241 789 778

The first four tormas represent evil demons. They are driven away by the throwing. The extra features are given so that they will be content and will not return; they are things which one needs in daily life.

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The second torma, weather-torma, represents the spirits of the weather ministry. The extra features are an offering to make them favorably disposed.

The mountain-torma represents the world-mountain. Sun and moon circle around it. This mountain is the spirit paradise. It is put under the pole so that the spirits will withdraw into this paradise and leave the human beings.

The wedges represent the magic dagger of the smith-god and his subordinates. They are the chief weapons against demons.

[791]

The Bon priest is also a pupil and subordinate of this smith-god. He especially venerates him and likewise uses the three-edged magic dagger in conjuring away the demons. At the temple

[535]

dances (tscham dances) the subordinate spirits of the weather-smith-god also appear with the dagger. Lamas never use the dagger. The three notches form three knobs which are supposed to represent the human skull. The demons especially fear this,

[765]

like all things that come from the dead, such as the bone flute, the whip of human skin, and the skull drum.

192 [829] Word List

241 789 The pole-goat: aradziãn (Tib. loanword) = to stretch out the goat.

ima rẽdziala (Tujen) = to stretch out the goat.

[778] The goat: ima; chũ-la (Chin.); chia-la (Chin.).

[845 cont.]
789 spear-soothsayer amidst constant shaking; he must remain until
792 the end. They go in front of the yard gate. There another man
[791] waits with the animal. The master of the household places the saddlebag on the unbridled and unsaddled animal and leads it away by the head harness, followed by the lama, spear-soothsayer, and the other men. The procession goes out of the village by the usual route. Outside the village he leads the animal a distance across the fields, takes off its head harness, and chases it away, and to be sure in an uninhabited direction so that it cannot immediately run back into the village. On the [846] spot at which the animal was released, the lama sets down the torma. Before it a man erects a small wall of clay bricks with the broad side facing the village, so that the demon will not come back again. Then all go home. The animal is not supposed to run home again; no one bothers about what happens to it. It belongs to the demon. In case it does come running back again later, it is driven off with blows of a stick.

789 The simple releasing: Besides this ceremonial form,
791 there is also a simple releasing, which takes only half a day
757 or a whole day. One invites a shaman or a soothsayer, who escorts the things away. On this occasion there is no praying and no torma is made. The master of the household holds a hen in readiness and brings the traveling clothes and food on a tray before the household altar. The soothsayer or shaman invokes the spirit and, followed by the master of the household, goes with the tray out into the field. There a large pile of straw is heaped up. The things on the tray are flung into it and the whole is set afire. While the flames beat upward, the hen is allowed to fly away. -- If a soothsayer officiates, then the performance usually takes place in the morning. If a shaman undertakes the releasing, then it is not done until the late evening at the coming of darkness. The shaman follows
[787] in a state of trance and swings his sword in battle against the demon. Even if the shaman at the "great releasing" follows the lama in place of a spear-soothsayer, he performs this
[535] sword dance, but this is always in broad daylight (2).

[204 cont.]
776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance among the people that might be expected. They know of [796] Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth [535] day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha, [791] and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call [788] sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full [756] warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people. Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called [753] ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune, [777] failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the [731] plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom [782] the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are combated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774 ## 2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sicknesses.

Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one questions the people about it, one always receives the same answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)." Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imitation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to observe it several times. Thus the people are basically right when they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in groups before the image of the great mother in order to please her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanistic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism. -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One could regard the drum as the most important continuation from Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as, for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

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A small drum is prepared for the boy and the father teaches him to beat it in the right tempo; he teaches him the usual prayers. Every day in the morning and at evening he will sit cross-legged with his father in front of the picture and the staff, beating the drum, receiving instruction and asking for explanations. The father teaches him the pasting of flags and streamers with white, red, and yellow paper, the cutting of all kinds of paper designs; the kneading of all kind of dough figures used during the rites; the application on red paper of the usual seals. He also teaches him the different kinds of dancing, and how to attack imagined spirits or defend himself against them, with sword and spear; and how to use the whip, the staff, and the knife. Special stress is put on athletic exercises in order to strengthen and supple the muscles and bones, and also on all kinds of acrobatics, climbing up poles, jumping on tables, executing dangerous pirouettes. Because all the shamanist [535] rites are accompanied by dances, peculiar stress is put on moving with grace and elegance with measured steps to the beating of the drum. The best dancers among the shamans are very celebrated all over the country. All shamans are acrobats and fine dancers.

Most shamans are proficient in the art of producing tones and words without any motion of the mouth, so that the listeners are induced to refer the sound to spirits speaking in the drum and answering the questions proposed to them by the shaman. They are wonderful ventriloquists. This art is used at the time the spirits are called up in the drums, and long conversations are held between them and the shamans.

The apprentice, from the very beginning, accompanies his father in performing shamanist rites. He learns with enthusiasm and vigor, for the boy is eager to beat drums, play the acrobat, dance with the elders and imitate them, but at the same time he sees and hears his father conjuring the spirits, calling them up, attacking and chasing evil spirits. He sees the awful rictus of his mouth and jaws, the painful contortions of his whole body; he hears him, worked into a frenzy, predicting the future; and sees his eyes in a fixed stare. Hundreds of times he sees and hears the same rites performed for sick men, and hears the shaman talking to the villagers at the general rites of spring and autumn. Because the [778] same things are said and done over and over again, he remembers them all by heart. The novelty, however, of beating drums, wears off very fast, and unconsciously he starts living in a new world of spirits, acting and thinking in the way of the shamans. He believes his father and the other shamans, he becomes hypnotized by their words, gestures, and acts, and he starts seeing and hearing spirits himself. He gets the conviction that, protected by the twelve spirits to whom he is dedicated, he can also subdue evil spirits and act as the agent of good ones, and he becomes a shaman.

Helping his father and other shamans for years and having himself alone performed rites, eventually when

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking with them and asking for their protection upon the village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour.

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit.

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[9]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is performed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman:

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

[9] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.